1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

512 collect firewood and procure the leaves used as plates and drinking vessels; others may carry out any necessary tendance which the buffaloes require, or may go to fetch grain or rice [623] from Badaga villages or from the bazaar. The chief men of the village may perhaps have to attend a meeting of the *naim*, or council, which holds very frequent sittings to adjudicate upon the many disputed points which arise in connexion with the intricate social organisation of the people.

252 While the men are doing their work, the women will have 356 been seeing to their special tasks, of which three, represented 412 in Fig. 11, have come to be regarded as pre-eminently 462 woman's work. 512

They pound the grain with the *wask* in a hole situated in the middle of the floor of the hut,[1] and when the pounding is finished the grain is sifted with the *murn*, or sieve, and the hut is swept with the *kip*. It seemed that pounding grain is normally performed wearing the *tadrp* only.

237 Though these are the three operations which are regarded 296 as pre-eminently woman's work, the women have other things 356 to do. They rub the seats or beds both inside and outside 462 the hut with dried buffalo-dung, and use the same material to 531 cleanse the various household utensils. They mend the garments of the family, and some women devote much time to the special embroidery with which they adorn their cloaks.

512 The ordinary routine of the day is often broken by the 574 visits of people from other villages, who may have come to talk over a proposed marriage or transference of wives; to announce some approaching ceremony; to discuss some business connected with the buffaloes, or perhaps, but probably rarely, to pay a friendly call. Such a visit will probably give 574 the opportunity of observing the characteristic Toda salutation 576 shown in Fig. 12.[2] This is essentially a salutation between a woman and her male relatives older than herself. If a man

[1] For the purpose of photography, a hole was made outside the hut exactly like that within the hut. The picture must not be taken to indicate that pounding is ever normally performed out of doors.

[2] The old man on the right in this picture shows a very characteristic Toda attitude, in which a person crouches down completely enveloped in the cloak.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

visits a village in which he has any female relatives younger than himself, these will go out to meet him as he approaches the house, and each bows down before the man, who raises his

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FIG. 12.—WOMEN POUNDING AND SIFTING. THE BROOM IS ON THE GROUND TO THE RIGHT.

foot, while the woman places her hand below the foot and helps to raise it to her forehead, and the same salutation is repeated with the other foot. This mode of greeting is

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1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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called *kalmelpuditht*i,[1] or "leg up he puts." It is usually a salutation in which women bow down before men, but it may also take place between two men or between two women, while on certain occasions a male may bow down and have his forehead touched by the feet of a woman.

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In the evening the buffaloes again find their way to the milking-place, and the operations of the morning are repeated. When these are finished the buffaloes are shut up in the enclosure, or *tu*, for the night; the lamp is now lighted and saluted by the men who use the same gesture as that with which the sun had been saluted in the morning. The people then take their food and retire to rest.

Sketch of Social Organisation

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I shall consider the social organisation in detail at a much later stage, but it is necessary to give here a brief sketch in order to make its main features clear before going on to describe the Toda ceremonial, which often shows differences according to the division or clan with which the ceremony is connected. The fundamental feature of the social organisation is the division of the community into two perfectly distinct groups, the Tartharol and the Teivaliol. As we shall see more fully later, there is a certain amount of resemblance between these two divisions and the castes of the Hindus. There is a certain amount of specialisation of function, certain grades of the priesthood being filled only by members of the Teivaliol. Further, marriage is not allowed between members of the two divisions, though certain irregular unions are permitted; a Tarthar man must marry a Tarthar woman, and a Teivali man a Teivali woman. The Tartharol and Teivaliol are two endogamous divisions of the Toda people.

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Each of these primary divisions is subdivided into a number of secondary divisions. These are exogamous, and I shall speak of them throughout this book as 'clans,' using this word as the best general term for an exogamous division of a tribe or community.

[1] This salutation has been previously known by its Badaga name, *adabuddiken*.

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1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02)1906 Toda

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FIG. 12.—THE 'KALMELPUDITHTI' SALUTATION TAKING PLACE AT THE VILLAGE OF NÒDRS. ON THE LEFT IS THE HOUSE; ON THE RIGHT IS THE LESS IMPORTANT DAIRY OF THE VILLAGE (THE 'TARVALI'), AND IN FRONT OF IT IS THE STONE CALLED 'MENKARS.'

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

with the world in general act as deterrents to those who are thinking of becoming candidates for the vacant places. 234 463 554 793

Another point about which several writers have erred is in supposing that the *palol* is important in the general government of the Todas and in stating that the Todas go to him for counsel and advice. I inquired into this very carefully, and there seemed to be no doubt whatever that the *palol* has absolutely no functions outside the management of his dairy and of ceremonies connected with it. He has no place on the *naim*, or council, and only appears before it as defendant or witness in matters connected with the *ti*. I could not ascertain that any one ever consults the *palol* on any business except that of the *ti*, and outside his office he has nothing whatever to do, and is little thought of by the Todas. The sanctity attaching to the *palol* and the reverence paid to him are attached and paid wholly to the holder of the office and not at all to the man.

The ordinary Toda may only approach the *palol* on two days of the week, Monday and Thursday. On other days, if he wishes to communicate, he must stand a considerable distance from the *ti*—it was said as much as a quarter of a mile—and carry on his conversation from this distance. I had, however, the opportunity of observing that the distance was diminished on some occasions. 554 558 778 783 793

On no account may a *palol* ever be touched by an ordinary person. A *palol* becomes himself an ordinary person, or *perol*, if either he or his dairy should be touched by any unconsecrated person. Recently Nòdrners (67) lost the office of *palol* to the *warsir* at the Nòdrs *ti*, because a Tamil man went to his dairy while he was out looking after his buffaloes; he was soon reappointed, but to another *ti*.

The Toda who approaches the *palol* must go *kevenarut*, *i.e.*, with his right arm out of the cloak, and there is a definite form of salutation which is different for Tartharol and Teivaliol. When one of the former approaches, the *palol* says "*Bat*," and the Tarthar man replies "*Ir kaṅdá*," literally "Buffalo, calf, have you?" To one of the Kuudrol, the chief Teivali clan, the *palol* says the *kwarsam*, or sacred name of Kuudr, followed by the word *idith*, *i.e.*, he utters the words *Ivikanmokh* 793 576

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

793 576 *kûtmeil teu idith.* When any other Teivali man approaches, the *palol* says "*Pekein*," but all the Teivaliol reply with the same formula as the Tartharol. If a Tarthar man and a Teivali man approach the *palol* together, the former will be greeted first. The *palol* greets the man to whose division the buffaloes belong before the man of his own clan or division.

576 783 788 793 If a Toda is in the condition called *ichchil*, *i.e.*, has been defiled in connexion with funeral or other ceremonies, it was said that he might not approach the *palol*. I had an interesting example, however, of the way in which a regulation of this kind is observed. While Teitnir (52) had *ichchil*, owing to the fact that the funeral ceremonies of a relative had not been completed, he went with me to the Mòdr *ti* one day and approached within a few yards of the *palol*. He had taken off the semi-European clothing he often wore, and had his right arm bare, but no greeting of any kind took place between him and the *palol*; the latter did not recognise his presence in any way and behaved as if Teitnir were not there. On this occasion Teitnir was *ichchil* on account of the death of a more or less distant relative. Later his wife died, and then there seemed to be no doubt that he would not under any circumstances have approached the *ti* or the *palol*.

437 439 784 793 There are several regulations concerning the food of the *palol*. Any grain he eats must be that provided by the Badagas. At the present time more rice is eaten than was formerly the case. This is not grown by the Badagas, but nevertheless the rice for the *palol* must be obtained through them. The *palol* may drink milk, but only that from the buffaloes called *punir*. He must take his food sitting on the seat, or *pokvelkars*, outside the dairy, and, as we have seen, he uses for this purpose the seat which is not on the same side as the *mavi*. He usually prepares the food himself and cooks it on the fireplace called *tòratthwaskal* in the outer room of dairy; but there is also a fireplace outside the dairy which is used sometimes, especially when food has to be prepared for many people, and then the *palol* may be assisted by the *kaltmokh*. If food is prepared by the *kaltmokh*, the fireplace outside the dairy must be used.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

At some time before entering into office as full palol the candidate touches a *tasth* or bar of the entrance into the *tu*. This ceremony is similar to that performed by the *kaltmokh*, and as in this case it seemed to be the special indication of entrance on full office, but unfortunately my notes do not make it clear exactly when this touching of the *tasth* is done nor with what ceremonial it is accomplished.

For a month from this day there will be what is called *pon*, nothing being either sold or given from the dairy. At the end of the month, on a Monday, a *tuni* of the kind called *kubuntuni* is brought by the *tikelfmav*, and is put on in the usual way. (During the previous month the *pòdrshtuni* will have been used both as a cloak and as a loincloth, and will have been taken into the sleeping hut.) The *palol* is visited by the dairymen of his rank from the other *ti* dairies, and there will be many visitors from all the Todas, who come and sit in the *pïïl* of the dairy and feast. The new *palol* also receives greetings on this day from the Todas for the first time since his entry upon office. He greets the Tartharol first, saying "*Bañ*" in the usual way, and then the Teivaliol, saying "*Pekein*," and each reply in the customary manner.

The ordination ceremonies of the *palol* are thus very prolonged. There is a preliminary qualifying ceremony in which the would-be candidates receive pieces of *tuni*, perform both the *nuli* and the *tudr* purificatory ceremonies, each once only, and on the following day go through the very peculiar ceremonial in which they are given superabundant food by an old woman while in a condition of complete nudity.

The proper ordination ceremonies begin on a Sunday, when the candidate receives *tuni*, performs the purificatory ceremony with *tudr* three times seven, and sleeps in a wood. On Monday he washes off the *tudr*, becomes a *perol*, and goes to the village of Òdr, where he again receives *tuni*, goes through the *mulinirò diti* ceremony which makes him a *palikartmokh*, and then performs the *tudr* ceremony three times seven and sleeps in the open, covered only with the *tuni*. On Tuesday he performs the *tudr* purification three times seven in the morning and seven times seven in the evening and again sleeps in the open. On Wednesday he bathes and assumes a special *kuvn* and goes to his future dairy, where the *kaltmokh*

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

618 bow down at the threshold of each, and then all partake
796 of a feast. The food has been prepared by the dairy-
man, and includes the special kind called *ashkkartpimi*,
621 which is eaten outside the dairy. Only the men of the clan who have taken part in the ceremony may be present at this feast.

After the feast all the men belonging to the *kudr* of the *irnörtpol* must again leave the village, but the only one of

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FIG. 44.—THE 'NERSATITI' SALUTATION.

their number who is subject to any special restrictions is the boy who has acted as *ponkartvaimokh*, who must avoid women and must sleep in the dairy of some village until the end of the whole business. He is spoken of as being in the condition called *pon* and derives his name from this.

The *wursol* and the *palikartmokh* of the village at which the ceremony has taken place must stay there for another month, but the men of the *kudr* which has received the calf may stay there or not as they please. No women and no

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 buffalo, wearing the *mauï*, this circle is composed of men only.
764 The lament[1] usually consists in calling first the name of the
765 buffalo and then speaking of the dead person, not by his name, but by the term expressing the bond of kinship between the lamenter and the dead. Thus at a funeral at which the buffalo killed was called Pundrs, one man would cry:

> "*Pundrsia, en potch aia ivanersia, en potch aia*
> O Pundrs, O my father.

I could not ascertain the meaning of *ivanersia* except that its latter part is the word for buffalo with the vocative termination '*ia*.'

For a son, a man would cry after the name of the buffalo, "*en mokh ûpa*"; for an elder brother, "*en potch anna*"; and similarly for other relatives. For a wife a man would cry "*iza kughia*," and for a husband a woman cries "*iza mokhia*" (*iza* is merely exclamatory).

It might appear from the form of lamentation that the buffalo itself was regarded as the father, son, &c., of the lamenter, and I could not satisfy myself as to what the people really had in their minds when they were lamenting in this way. It has been supposed that the lamentation is for the slaughtered buffalo, and I am unable positively to say that this is not the case. It is probable that the people grieve for the departure of one of their much-loved buffaloes, but I do not think that there is any decisive evidence that they are lamenting for the buffalo rather than for the dead person.

764 Within the group of mourners there is much going hither
765 and thither. After two people have mourned together for a while they separate, and each seeks a new partner with whom
576 to lament. When separating, the salutation of *kalmelpudithti* often takes place, and, as in general, it is the younger of each pair who bows down his head and raises each foot of the other so that it touches his forehead. It seemed to be the duty of everyone to salute certain of the older men in this way; and round these men there would be a continual coming and going, each person saluting by placing his head beneath the feet of the elder. At times the band of mourners would

[1] More elaborate laments are given on pp. 385-8.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02)1906 Toda

764 form a confused mass of struggling people, some crying
765 forehead to forehead, others saluting head to foot, while others
576 would be struggling through the mass to seek partners with whom to mourn (Fig. 55).

THE CLOTH-GIVING CEREMONY

764 During or after the lamentation a ceremony is performed
602 which is known as *kachüttht*i[1] (*kach*, cloth, *üttht*i or *ütiti*, he
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FIG. 55—THE MOURNERS ROUND THE BODY.

puts). The essential feature of this ceremony is that a cloth is given by a near relative of the dead person to those who have married into his family, and the cloth is placed on the dead body by the wives of those to whom it is given. This ceremony takes place at the funerals of both sexes and for members of all clans. It is an inconspicuous ceremony, and with one exception[2] has escaped the observation of all those who have previously witnessed and recorded the procedure of

[1] This ceremony is also called *kachpütchpimi*.

[2] Natesa Sastri, *Madras Mail*, Aug. 28th, 1894.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02)1906 Toda

father's sisters, but probably this is so. In any case this restriction only applies to near relatives.

A man may not utter the name of his *pian* or *piav*.

There seemed to be some reluctance to say the name of a wife, but there did not appear to be any definite prohibition against it. It was probably part of a reluctance to utter personal names in general of which the Todas show some traces, though it is less marked among them than in the case of many uncultured people.

The taboo on names was far wider in the case of dead relatives. No one was allowed to utter the name of a dead relative, and this rule appeared to be especially stringent in the case of relatives who had been older than the speaker. As I have already mentioned, this taboo was for some time a great obstacle in my way when trying to obtain the pedigrees of the people. If a man had to refer to a dead relative, he did so by mentioning the name of the village at which he had died; thus, if the father of a Taradr man had died at Taradr, the man would say, "*en in Taradr pon*," while, if he had died away from home, say at Kuudr, he would refer to his father as "*en in Kuudr odthavai*," "my father who died at Kuudr."

In the funeral lamentations, each mourner mentions the deceased by the name indicating the bond of kinship between himself and the dead, and does not utter the personal name.

Kinship Salutations

There are certain well-defined salutations which are regulated by kinship.

The characteristic Toda salutation is called *kalmelpudithti*, in which salutation one person kneels or bows down before another, while the latter raises each foot and touches the forehead of the other. In general this salutation is only paid by women to their elder male relatives; a woman places her head beneath the foot of her *pian*, *in*, *an*, or *mun*, using these terms in their widest sense. The salutation seems to be very largely one connected with kinship. In everyday life the salutation is only paid by women to men, but under special circumstances, men may bow down before men, and women

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

before women, and men even may bow down before women (see p. 502).

Since, owing to the *mokhthodvaiol* connexion, a Tarthar woman may have a Teivali *mun* and *vice versa*, the *kalmel-puditkti* salutation takes place between people of the two divisions, and I have often seen a woman of one division placing her head beneath the foot of a man of the other division.

When a person meets one of his kin, he uses a form of greeting which depends on the nature of the relationship. Most of these greetings consist of some form of the word *iti* or *itvi*, which was said to mean "blessing" or "bless," together with the kinship term.

A man would greet an elder brother or anyone whom he would call *anna* by the word "*tioñ*," cut very short so as to sound like a single syllable. This is a corruption of *iti anna*. A person greets a younger brother or one whom he would call *enda* by uttering his name followed by the word *ers*, as in "*Sakari ers*," "*Pakhwar ers*." A father is greeted as *itiai*, a mother as *itiava*. An elder sister as *itiakka*; a younger sister as *itvena*, and this latter form is used for any female relative younger than the speaker. It is the duty of younger female relatives to perform the *kalmelpuditht* salutation, and as soon as a man says *itvena*, the woman at once bows down and places her head beneath the raised foot of the man, helping him to raise it at the same time.

A mother's brother or father-in-law (*mun*) is greeted by *itimoñ* and a *mumi* is greeted by *itimimia*, but so slurred as to be hardly recognisable. The grandfather and grandmother are greeted in the words *itin pia* and *itin piava*.

Whenever a new Toda came to join people who were with me, there would be a chorus of greetings, and the newcomer would look round carefully to see who was present, giving to each his proper salutation and obviously taking the greatest care that no one was overlooked. Since the relationship of brother is the most frequent, the greetings heard most often on these occasions were "*tioñ*" and "*. . . . ers*."

The regulation of salutation by kinship applies also to

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

produced by the evil eye. Their natural politeness also makes the Todas uncomfortable when they see others eating, and in the early part of my visit I sometimes dispersed a group surrounding me by taking sandwiches out of my pocket and beginning to eat.

I did not ascertain definitely who cooks among the Todas. I had some reason to suppose that all the cooking is done by the men and that the women have nothing to do with this part of domestic economy, but I am not clear about this. It is possible that it is only food containing milk which must be cooked by the men.

The Todas are an example of a people who have no native intoxicant, but they have now taken to alcoholic drinks, though I do not believe that they indulge in these habitually. The only occasions on which I saw Todas under the influence of alcohol were when they were returning from the bazaar on market days. I was only once asked by a Toda for alcohol and then by a woman. Tobacco is now largely used and opium is certainly also used, though I do not believe that it is taken in excess. It may be employed, however, as a means of committing suicide.

FIRE-MAKING

We have already seen that the fire used for several sacred purposes must be made by friction with the fire-sticks. The method employed is a variety of the drill method shown in Figs. 65 and 37. In the former the *wursol* of Taradr is making fire in order to enable me to procure a photograph; the latter is the result of a snapshot taken when the fire was being produced during a ceremony. In the horizontal stick, which is held firmly by the foot, a hole is made for the insertion of the vertical stick, and in this a little charcoal is placed. A small groove is cut on one side to assist the falling of the spark on the tinder beneath. The vertical stick is inserted into the hole and twirled between the two hands. In the only case in which I saw fire produced by friction in a ceremony (Fig. 37), the continued efforts of the two old men were unavailing, and a third younger man was called upon,

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAPTER IV.

CHARACTERISTICS.

Talking Voices—Modes of Salutation—Home Life—Frank and obliging Natures—Colour of the Skin—Tattoo Marks—Ornaments—Boys distinguished from Girls—Apparel—Toilette.

CHAP. IV.

THE Toda talking voice is peculiar; particularly so that of the women. Whilst on the part of the men it is strikingly grave and sedate, spoken almost *sotto voce*: the women's voice, on the contrary, is rather high, appearing to come altogether from the region at the back of the ear—the 'mastoid process.' In both sexes, but particularly with the female, the sound of the voice is somewhat musical and refined, though fatiguing to listen to from its monotonous tone. Indeed, it is somewhat astonishing that some harsh syllables of their language should come so softly from such mouths. The refinement arises doubtless, from the gentleness of their dispositions—void of asperity; its friendliness, accompanied by desire to please. Not from any innate sense of tune, for they have no more ear for music than so many crows.

Their amiability shows itself also in their observance of courteous customs. The salaam of the East, performed amongst the Todas by raising the thumb-edge of the right hand vertically to the nose and forehead, is a respectful form of address; used in addressing superiors, and on approach to sacred places, and other like occasions. When asked by what name they styled that form of salute, they replied: 'Itvâ eshken, swâmi eshken,' or, 'I say, come! I say, Lord!'

That mode of salutation which is most employed amongst

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAP. IV. 576

equals, is the short exclamation of 'Tya!' or 'Tcha!' corresponding in its tone and mode of use to our own expression of 'Good morning!' when friends meet or pass one another. The meaning of the word is not known to me. Perhaps it has no actual meaning, though similarity of sound suggests the Hindustani word 'Achcha,' good, well—as having the same derivation.

The salute called 'Âdabuddiken,'[1] or 'I seize the foot,' is very singular. Performed when people meet who have been apart for some time, it seems to combine an expression of fealty with that of courteous respect, and perhaps of affection. Suppose a case; a group of men and women, conversing in their village, is surprised by an inroad of Toda visitors. The exclamation, 'Here is Beliâni, Beliâni's wife, and her little-sister Penpuv!' The cheerful smile lights up the assembly. Every operation is suspended. Every house discharges its occupants. All rise pleasantly, and with much gentle urbanity, to meet the new arrivals.

What now ensues depends on certain points of etiquette; matters of prudence, quite understood amongst them. In this early stage of society, the dues to sex and to age and relationship, are clearly defined. Early and constant practice has long made every woman acquainted with the position in which she stands with regard to her relatives, and to her husband's parents, elder and younger brothers; and there is little else to remember. Hence, amongst the two groups of both sexes which now meet, a glance of the eye suffices to enable each member to apprehend the position to be taken.

A man never bows down before a woman; not even a son before his mother.

A man does not bow down before another man; but women do so before women.

[1] Âdabuddiken. Aḍi = *foot*, Piḍi or Pattu = *seize, take hold of*. To *seize the foot* is a common Drâvidian expression for *homage, reverence*. [POPE.]

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

Nº 8

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A GREETING—ÂDA BUDDIKEN.

opp. p. 42

576 A wife never bows down before her *husband*; though she performs the Âdabuddiken before her father-in-law, mother-in-law, her husband's elder brother. CHAP IV

Now each one of the juniors or inferiors—being a female—approaching each of the seniors or superiors—both men and women—in succession, 'falls at his feet;' crouches on the ground before him, or her. On which he, or she, places first the right, then the left foot on her head. Such is the act styled Âdabuddiken.

As every man of the two parties has to perform this ceremony to every female, and each woman to each younger woman, and the men to salute one another and say 'Tcha!' the greeting of parted friends—which has to be carefully gone through, and which no sense of impatience or untimely levity ever occurs to abbreviate—is one that takes time. But the Toda has no wit, and plenty of time to spare and to waste.

152 593 Mr. Metz tells me he has seen a son fall at his mother's feet. But the act (a very exceptional one) was committed on the occasion of a funeral, when the family appeared overwhelmed with grief; and the man, actuated by his feelings, performed this token of respect and love.

157 576 Nothing but the natural good manners of the people hinders the ceremony of Âdabuddiken from becoming unseemingly slavish. But the cheerfulness of the women, and the men's grave politeness, admits of its being performed with entire good taste.

462 562 Toda women indeed, hold a position in the family quite unlike what is ordinarily witnessed amongst Oriental nations. They are treated with respect, and are permitted a remarkable amount of freedom. They perform the legitimate offices of women in Europe; tending children, cooking the family meals, bringing water from the spring, and cleaning the house and premises. Wearing mantles or togas—Putkuli—there is very little stitching to be performed; but they embroider the edges of the mantles which some of the men wear, with 531

CHAP. VII.

551

Quêldirth.	Jinvani.
Tushquilth.	Nastufi.
Muneth.	Ânchaguti.
Penpuv.	Chizarêm.
Dirthavilli.	Pentirêm.

553 A woman retains her maiden name on marriage; being known, for instance, as Nastufi, the wife of Beliâni.

551 576 601 It is etiquette in speaking of another man's wife to term her either kottê or pannê;[7] the first, if her husband is of the Pyki clan, the second if of the Pekkan, Tôdi, Kenna, or Kuttan clans.

A man calling to his wife, or a wife to her husband, would not say 'come here Nastufi or Beliâni,' but 'kukh itva, come here woman,' or 'âl itva, come here man.'

But the more proper term by which a man speaks of his wife is yen kâtvoti.[8]

According to these rules, people talking of the woman Nastufi, would describe her as Beliani pannê, or kottê. *He* would mention her as kâtvoti. He would *call out* to her as kukh.

List of Relationships.

601

Man, person, husband	Âl.
Man—young	Varsh.[9]

[7] Kottê. Pannê. Such terms are difficult. They are frequently of a depreciatory character.

Kôṭṭa = *a fort* or *large dwelling*. Kôṭṭi = *a person of a fort, a superior inhabitant*. Paṇi = *jewel*. Paṇi = *work*. [POPE.]

[8] Yen Kâtvoti. Yen or en = *my*, constantly prefixed in Drâvidian to words indicative of relationship.

Kaṭṭu = *bind, join*. V is an insertion of tense, used in forming verbal nouns with a future or indefinite temporal signification.

Ati is a feminine termination.

The word means, '*she who is bound to me*.' [POPE.]

[9] This is, I think, Sansk. : purusha. But there is vîras, *a hero*.

In old high Tamil we have virral, and the termination al becomes in Toda sh as a general rule. [POPE.]

"border. It is hung over the left shoulder, brought across the back, and forward 291
"under the right arm, the point being flung backwards over the left shoulder again,
"leaving the right arm at liberty, and allowing the folds to fall gracefully about the
"lower part of the person down to the knees." (*Plate* XI.)

* * * * *

"The female dress (*Plate* IV.) on ordinary occasions consists of a robe similar
"to that of the men, though it is worn differently, being merely thrown over both
"shoulders and clasped in front by the hand."

Singularly massive ornaments are worn by the women (*Plate* V.)[1] A pair of brass 301
armlets worn on one arm above the elbow weighed 6 lbs.

The *Büguri* (*Plate* XI.) is the only musical instrument they possess. It is a 534
hollow bamboo with holes like a flute, and a piece of horn or wood at the lower end.
The performer blows in at the top and produces a disagreeable sound, aggravated by the
fluttering of a piece of paper inserted between the bamboo and the horn. They are fond 633
of singing, that is, of chanting in a monotonous drone apparently without words. To a
European ear, however,—

"their song is death"
"And makes destruction please."

like that of the Sirens, but for a different reason. They dance in circles with clubs 535
(*Plate* XI.), holding hands or linking arms, and marking time with shouts of *Hoh*,
Hoh.

They generally greet Europeans with a simple salaam; sometimes with a sort of 576
bow or military salute made in a courteous and dignified manner. A Toda woman 609
meeting a man salutes him by raising his feet one after the other to her forehead. An
old woman, however, receives instead of paying this reverence. A Badaga meeting a [illegible]
Toda lays his hand on the head of the latter. This, and the title *Mâv*, father-in-law,*
which is assigned to the Badagas, seems to imply some belief in the superiority of the
latter.

When Europeans came to the Hills under the auspices of Mr. Sullivan in 1820, Tenure of land. 177
to settle at Cotacamund and elsewhere, one of the first questions that arose, concerned
the nature and extent of the Toda rights in the soil.

The subject was discussed for years, during which no attempt was made by 421
Government to have these rights ascertained and defined. Ultimately, however, an 423
inquiry took place, which, amidst a mass of correspondence, elicited the following 451
noteworthy points:—

From as far back as our records extended, it appeared that the Todas had
paid annually a light pasture tax for about 100 *Ballas*† of land, and 2 *Kantirâi*
fanams‡ for each buffalo, and had enjoyed the right of pasturing their herds over

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* A Badaga house is sometimes called *Pîthkali*, like the Todas' temples.
† A *Balla* = 4 acres nearly.
‡ *Kantirâi fanam* = Or. 4a. 8p. of present money.

1 [Plate 5A -- Analysis]

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
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765 separating to select a new partner, each couple saluted by bowing the head, and raising thereto the feet of the other, covered by the putkûli. [I have seen women rapidly recover from the outward manifestations of grief, and clamour for money.] From time to time the company of mourners was reinforced by late arrivals from distant mands, and, as each detachment, now of men and now of women, came in view across the open downs, one could not fail to be reminded of the gathering of the clans on some Highland moor. The resemblance was heightened by the distant sound as of pipers, produced by the Kota band (with two police constables in attendance), composed of four Kotas, who made a weird noise with drums and flutes as they drew near the scene of action. The band, on arrival, took up a position close to the mourning women. As each detachment arrived, the women, recognising their relatives, came forward and saluted them in the manner customary among Todas by falling at their feet, and placing first the right and then the left foot on their head. Shortly after the arrival of the band, signals were exchanged, by waving of putkûlis, between the assembled throng and a small detachment of men some distance off. A general move was made, and an *impromptu* procession formed, with men in front, band in the middle, and women bringing up the rear. A halt was made opposite a narrow gap leading into the shola; men and women sat apart as before; and the band walked round, discoursing unsweet music. A party of girls went off to bring fire from the spot just vacated for use in the coming ceremonial, but recourse was finally had to a box of matches lent by one of our party. At this stage we noticed a woman go up to the eldest son of the deceased, who was seated apart from the

[648] [533] [576]

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
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764 [782] the corpse was burnt, was then sacrificed, and rice and jaggery were distributed among the crowd, which dispersed, leaving behind the youthful widower and his custodians, who, after daybreak, partook of a meal of rice, and returned to their mands; the boy's mother [765] taking with her the skull and hair to her mand, where it would remain until the celebration of the second funeral. No attention is paid to the ashes after cremation, and they are left to be scattered by the winds.

A further opportunity offered itself to be present at the funeral of an elderly woman on the open downs not far from Paikāra, in connection with which certain details possess some interest. The corpse was, at the time of our arrival, laid out on a rude bier within an improvised arbour covered with leaves and open at each end, and tended by some of the female relatives. At some little distance, a conclave of Toda men, who rose of one accord to greet us, was squatting in a circle, among whom were many venerable white-turbaned elders of [293] the tribe, protected from the scorching sun by palm-leaf umbrellas. Amid much joking, and speech-making by the veterans, it was decided that, as the eldest son of the deceased woman was dead, leaving a widow, this daughter-in-law should be united to the second son, and that they should live together as man and wife. [576] On the announcement of the decision, the bridegroom-elect saluted the principal Todas present by placing his head on their feet, which were sometimes concealed within the ample folds of the putkûli. At the funeral of a married woman, three ceremonies must, I was told, be performed, if possible, by a daughter or daughter-in-law, viz.:—

[824] (1) Tying a leafy branch of the tiviri shrub (*Atylosia Candolleana*) in the putkûli of the corpse;

9:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938) 1939 AW60 Toda AW60

The European may enter the
house if he takes off his shoes and if the cooking utensils have been removed from the house; this seems to be a mark of courtesy to the ruling caste and no Toda will trouble himself to remove the cooking utensils to oblige a Toda Christian. This, I think, is the essence of the tribal attitude. The Toda Christian is an outsider, with the complication that he was once a member of the tribe and still has all the links of blood-relationship and affinal relationship with the tribe. There is resentment because he has left the tribe, and on occasion the diviners *ex officio* and even other members of the tribe may charge the misfortunes of the tribe to the fact that there have been converts to Christianity and may commence open hostilities (wordy quarrelling and sometimes blows) if a Christian Toda happens to be present, especially if he has brought a European to see ceremonies. At the same time the pull of the original relationship survives in a measure and is clearly evident when a respected member of the tribe sits in the Toda Christian meeting and gives the benefit of his advice and when those members of the tribe related to the principals at Christian weddings and christenings attend these ceremonies.

The overt actions of the tribal Todas can be illustrated in more detail. The other side of the interdining relation works as follows. The tribal Toda when he comes to a Christian Toda house or ceremony will eat only if the food has been cooked by a man, either tribal in origin or born in the Christian community; this is a little obscure since food is ordinarily cooked in a tribal Toda house by the women and the question of menstruation pollution does not enter to complicate the picture.[16] It may be due to the presence of women of Tamil origin in the community or perhaps to the fact that women converts are not readmitted to the tribe even if they wish to leave the Christian community. Furthermore, the cooking must be done in a metal vessel and not in an earthen one; according to general Hindu views pollution can be removed from the former but not from the latter.

Readmission to the tribe of a Toda Christian male who was born in the tribe is always possible and has happened often enough. For example, [kanfusodj] went back to the tribe on one occasion in order to marry a woman with whom he was in love. He was unable through illness to stand the physical life of the tribe, however, and became a Christian again. It appears that the chief ceremony in readmission to the tribe was provision for him of a new perineal cloth [kuuin], the fundamental garment of the Toda man.[17] A Toda woman, once she

[16] See my paper *Toda Menstruation Practices*, which will appear in the Dr. F. W. Thomas Festschrift Volume to be published by the *New Indian Antiquary*.

[17] Cf. the regulation that a man who has lost his perineal cloth is barred from going to a dairy until after sunset of that day.

12:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938)1941 AW60 Toda AW60

Besides these Rivers distinguished a relative of this type who is of the same age as EGO. This distinction is in fact impossible, both in the strict temporal sense, and in the Toda cultural pattern. It is always known how the persons in question stand to one another in the matter of relative time of birth, and in such cultural contexts as formal greetings[6] no room is left by the pattern for a class of the same age as EGO. For example, at a gathering each new male arrival must salute all the males already present with the proper formal term of address, and among these all classificatory elder brothers must be greeted. If any of those present is neglected, the offender is reprimanded and if necessary fined for the neglect. The pattern in its strict application makes a clean dichotomy and in practically all circumstances the dichotomy is rigidly enforced. The word given by Rivers for his third class is koɪ/ "friend," occurring chiefly with pronominal forms preceding, egoɪ/ or en-goɪ/ "my friend" (in address -ɛs is added), num-goɪ/ "your friend," an-goɪ/ or tan-goɪ/ "his or her friend," etc. These terms are normally used between or with reference to close friends of the same age-level who are not related to one another (e.g., typically between two persons who belong to different moieties). They may also be used where formality is not enforced by the pattern; I have no certain information as to whether they could be used between siblings, but there is some slight evidence to be discussed below which would indicate that it is possible. It is to be noted however that this is only permissive and that the term does not designate any kinship class or even any relationship that is highly formalized in the culture.[7]

When two persons sing together, certain subjects allow or require that vocatives be used at the beginning, the end, and important division-points of the songs. In most of the texts that I have recorded the proper kinship terms are used in such songs. Ten songs use the conventional song-words for "friend (vocative)," enbocxoɪ/jaɪ, eningoɪ/jaɪ.[8] Three situations may be divided off. In the first (three songs) the two singers are of different moieties and presumably no "lover-mistress" relationship would require kinship terms.[9] In a second class (four songs) membership of the same moiety might very well involve a relationship where kinship terms should be used, but I do not know of any such relationship; two of the songs were sung by the same pair of singers and were dictated to me at a sufficient interval of time so that the use of "friend" terms is guaranteed. In a third class (three songs) there was certainly relationship between the singers, but as dictated the "friend" terms were used. These songs were dictated rather early in my field-work before I realized all the implications of the

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in address is the simple vocative (distinguished by sex and relative age); in reference the simple brother-sister terms might be used or, where more exact reference is necessary, descriptive terms. In the case of address to cross-cousins of the same sex as EGO the brother-sister terms are used (see note 7 below).

[6] Rivers, pp. 496-98.

[7] In the case also of address to cross-cousins of the same sex as the speaker there is no room for Rivers' third classification (p. 488 bottom); only age older or younger than that of EGO is taken into account in determining the kinship term to be used.

[8] For the nature of the song-words, see my paper *The Songs of the Todas* (Proceedings, American Philosophical Society, Vol. 77, pp. 343-60, 1937), especially pp. 348-49.

[9] For this relationship, see Rivers, pp. 525-29.

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person because of relationship in the same matrilineal sib, in the same patrilineal sib, or by pojoɨ/ relationship may be permitted to dance.[19] Or, it may happen that, although there are enough members of the proper moiety to dance, there is no one present of the proper moiety who knows how to compose dance-words.[20] In this case if a composer of the moiety of the dead person is present, he may be permitted to dance and compose words. It may happen that all the composers of both moieties will be prevented from dancing by the mourning rules; in this case one of them will be allowed to dance and compose words.

It will be seen from the manner in which the rules are relaxed between situations (a) and (b) for a man, and within the situation (a) as between a man and a wóman, that no one may ever dance who is related by co-membership in the same matrilineal sib to any dead person, either of whose funerals is outstanding. In both cases however when the rules are relaxed, i.e. when a man's second funeral only is outstanding and when a woman's first or second funeral is outstanding, the only co-members of the patrilineal sib who are forbidden to dance are those within the immediate family. We may conclude from these rules and from the universally overriding force of relationship within the same matrilineal sib in the application of kinship terms, that in these social spheres the matrilineal sib has greater importance than the patrilineal.[21] Rivers' description has of course made clear the overwhelming importance of the patrilineal sibs in the economic, religious, and social spheres. A man belongs to the patrilineal sib of his father and inherits his property and all his ownership rights and duties in the sacred herds of buffaloes, the dairies at which they are tended, the pastures, etc. This is the pivot of Toda life and in it the matrilineal sibs do not figure at all. In the matter of marriage patrilineal and matrilineal sibs are of equal value; no Toda may marry a person belonging to his own sib of either type. In the matters treated in this paper, however, though both types of sib play a part, the matrilineal sib relationship has greater weight than the other.

A hint of the attitude of a Toda towards the members of his matrilineal sib is provided by the words of the songs. The attitude is identified by the work noɨkɨ which was translated as "shame," and refers to the sensation of shrinking felt when one is confronted with an embarrasing situation. We shall first examine a prose account of the expedition of kajnɨr (Kainir, 3) to the points of interest on the path over the hills followed by the dead on their way to the afterworld. His daughter ɔrlɨr had married pɨɨkor (Pilkòdr, 16) of the mɔ̀r patrilineal sib, whose mund pan is very near the point where the path starts southwestward into the Kundah hills. She assured her father of the interest that such an expedition would have and he with several companions made it successfully. One of the points is

[19] A person who cannot dance on any occasion because of mourning is called kɔɨ(k)-kɔrpoɨ "person who is waiting for a funeral." [20] See reference in note 12 above.

[21] Another place where relationship in the matrilineal sib counts is in the salutations performed at various ceremonies, as e.g., at the pɨɨs-ɔɨɨt or bow-giving ceremony. There the wife salutes all the male and female members of her father's patrilineal sib and her own matrilineal sib, and those of her husband's patrilineal sib who are older than herself. Likewise the husband salutes all the male and female members of his patrilineal sib, his matrilineal sib, and his wife's patrilineal sib without respect to relative ages. So correct Rivers, p. 330.

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Terms of address

Ordinary		Formal	
		Used by men	*Used by women*
a peβa: } b peβafa: }	or { pia: / piafa: }	a and b same as for c and d	
c pia:		timbje:ʔ	(e)tjβaʔ
d piafa:		timbiafaʔ	(e)tjβafaʔ
e eja:		tjɛ:ʔ, tj:ʔ	(e)tjeja ʔ
f afa:		tjafaʔ	(e)tjafaʔ
g muma:		tjų:ʔ	(e)tjmuma ʔ
h mimja:		tjmimjaʔ	(e)tjmimjaʔ
i oɲa:		tjǫ:ʔ	(e)tjoɲaʔ
j oka:		tjokaʔ	(e)tjokaʔ
k enda:			
l ena:			
x oɬja:			
y toɲmoxja:, kuɲxja:			

[194] (The formal terms contain extra-phonemic phonetic material, the glottal stop, nasalized vowels, and initial consonant groups.)

601 In formal address a man, to a man whom he calls enda: or ena:, uses the latter's name plus -ɛ:; e.g., kũaɲomɛ:.

● 576 A man who is addressed formally by another man with the salutation timbje:ʔ, tjɛ:ʔ, or tjų:ʔ, answers tɛ:m.

Older man or woman to younger woman when putting feet to the latter's forehead in salutation, i.e. in formal address: (e)tjfuneʔ.

Woman to younger male related to her within a patrilineal or matrilineal sib, by marriage or by "lover-mistress" relation, says, if he is of:

tõõβ moiety	(e)tjfokeʔ
toɾõa: moiety	
melɲa: patrilineal sib	(e)tjfokeʔ
kuɲ: patrilineal sib	(e)tjxeneʔ
noɪɲ, moɪɾ patrilineal sibs	(e)tjũɯɾõɛʔ
toɾoɪɾ, kõɾoɪɾ, niɾj, uɲkitj, kerɯɾ, puɲgoɪɾ patrilineal sibs	(e)tjɛ̃ɯɲɛʔ

601 Corresponding to these salutations, in a lament for her husband a woman uses the vocatives: mɯfokɛ:, mɯfokɛ:, mɯxɛnɛ:, mɯõũɯɾõɛ:, mɯɛ̃ũɯɲɛ:; cf. with these terms the Badaga classification of the Todas given by Rivers, pp. 541–42. A man in a lament for his wife uses the vocative mɯfenɛ:; cf. the salutation (e)tjfuneʔ used by older man or woman to younger woman.

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Formal salutations are not used by a man to his female cross-cousins, or to any woman not related to him in a patrilineal or matrilineal sib, by marriage, or by a "lover-mistress" relation; nor by a woman to her male cross-cousins, or to any man not related to her in a patrilineal or matrilineal sib, by marriage, or by a "lover-mistress" relation.

[114]

There is an unfortunate omission in my material; it is not known how a man addresses his brother's wife and how a woman addresses her sister's husband. Husband-wife terms seem more probable than brother-sister terms, but the point needs to be investigated.

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A further note should be added on the words mox and kuɪx. It will be seen that in reference the simplex terms mox = "son" (sometimes extended in a collective sense "children") and kuɪx = "daughter," and that as final members of terms they denote "male" and "female" respectively, but that in address neither is used in this sense, while kuɪxjɑɪ in address = "wife." Further, toɣmox "wife" is a combination of toɣ-, not otherwise found, and mox (the first element must be descriptive of the second, i.e. it is the wife who is some kind of mox). Kuɪx is used in texts often to mean "young woman." In the songs a wife is addressed, usually when a husband laments her death, with the vocative ɯsaxuɪxjɑɪ, containing kuɪx; a husband, usually when a wife laments his death, with a vocative ɯsamoxjɑɪ, containing mox. Any child is addressed in songs with the pair: enmoxubɑɪ, enmərjubɑɪ, containing mox in the meaning "child" and, equated with it, mərj which in prose means "offspring of animal (except buffalo) or bird." From a Toda point of view the basic meaning of kuɪx is probably "female" or perhaps "young female," all the other meanings developing from that. Mox is much more intractable, though the meaning "child, especially male child" may possibly be basic. The term ɯsamoxjɑɪ "husband!" could possibly have been derived from a practise whereby the wife adopted her mother-in-law's usage, but the conditions certainly do not exist in present-day usage, and on the whole such an explanation is dubious. Toɣmox would still be unexplained and will remain so until the prior element is explained.

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ears pierced ceremonially, this again being reserved exclusively for men, for whom the utilitarian motive of the ritual seems to be completely non-existent. Toda boys put on the *kuvn* (perineal band) when they are five years old. The girls are given their wraps at the age of three. Children are separated from each other in accordance with their sex when, at eight, they start their respective social occupations.

It will be apparent from the above that members of the male sex receive preferential treatment among the Todas. This is something which strikes the observer at once, the advantageous social role of the men being very much in contrast to the subordinate one of the women. Nevertheless, it cannot be said that representatives of the female sex are, on the whole, badly treated. On the contrary, they have a free and easy look about them, and are, as a rule, well-cared for by their men folk. It is merely evident that they suffer from some very distinct social disabilities.

Thus Toda women are expected to deal with such household duties as pounding the grain in the house, sifting it, sweeping out the hut, making the *ertülkh* or sleeping platform and seat inside the *arsh* with cow-dung and mud, mending clothes and sometimes embroidering. They are also in charge of cooking, although Rivers thought, erroneously, that they could not deal with this domestic duty. They may also milk the ordinary buffaloes or *putir*, something which Rivers also mistakenly denies. There are, on the other hand, a number of feminine "musts'. A Toda woman is obliged to greet all male relatives by putting her head under the man's feet in what is known as the *kalmelpudithti* salutation. When she goes back and forth from the *mad*, she is compelled to follow a special path, the *majvatitthkalvol*, and may not use the ordinary one taken by men and outsiders. A stone, the *majvatvaiirn*, marks the point nearest to the dairy-temple at which she must stop. It is here that butter-milk (*maj*) is distributed to the womenfolk every evening at sunset by the dairy priests. They must not handle it, furthermore, when they are menstruating.

Woman may only exceptionally enter temples at funerals when the body of a man rests in the ante-chamber. They are excluded from most religious ceremonies and at the yearly procession through the village of Kiur, they must vacate the *mad* completely before its arrival. Women are not allowed to attend the sacred buffaloes (*porsir*), or even to approach their pens. They may not drink their milk and are only allowed the buttermilk and the butter after it has been processed by the dairyman-priest. They cannot cross the dairy's stream (*pali nipa*),